

E. A. BERGMAN

# Peace News

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OMAN COMMENTARY BY ROY SHERWOOD

## The white man's wars must stop

THE news that the red flag of the Sultan of Muscat has been hoisted over the main tower of the Nizwa Fort, and that the Imam's fighting forces have fled into the hills, does not mean the end of the troubles in the Persian Gulf.

The fact that the Imam's followers can fight on, with every advantage in their favour in a territory particularly ill suited to orthodox military operations, is only a minor factor in the present situation. A more significant one is this: although the distance between the area of the Oman fighting and the Aden Protectorate is about the same as that between London and the southernmost end of Italy, there is a common link between the Oman rebellion and the renewal of Yemeni incursions into the western parts of the Protectorate.

### ULTIMATE EXPLOSION

But even the fact that the "rebels" in both cases claim that they have themselves been the original victims of aggression and are merely seeking to re-establish the independence of areas wrongly taken away from them—in one case for the sake of enormous oil resources believed to exist there, in the other in order to give Aden a background and surrounding screen of British-controlled territory—even that is not yet the point of

## 24-hour vigil at atomic site

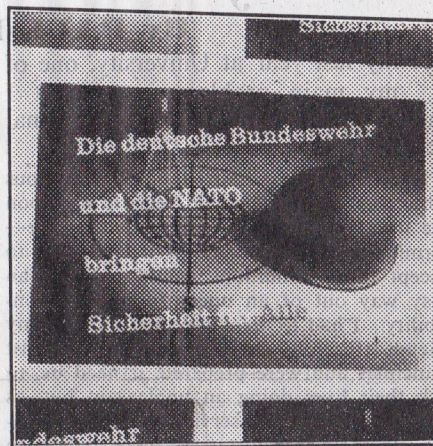
# "I WAS ARRESTED IN NEVADA DESERT"

## Atom bomb glare lights up demonstration

WHEN the 11th US atomic explosion took place on Wednesday of last week, the glare outlined a group of 26 men and women praying outside Camp Mercury, the proving ground in the Nevada Desert.

The group included the 11 persons reported in Peace News last week as being arrested as they entered the testing site on the previous day in a Gandhi-type act of civil disobedience against nuclear tests.

### Feeling safer?



This poster now appearing in the streets of Western Germany reads "The German Federal Army and NATO bring safety to all."

The non-violent project was supported by thousands of people in peaceful demonstrations throughout the USA.

The desert vigil broke up later on the Wednesday morning after having been maintained for 24 hours and returned to Las Vegas.

"This is only the beginning," declared Lawrence Scott, as the group members committed themselves to return to their home areas to rally opposition to nuclear bomb tests.

JIM PECK, Peace News correspondent and one of the eleven arrested, describes below the scene in the desert from the start of the 24-hour vigil on Tuesday, August 6, Hiroshima Day.

### FIRST MAJOR ACTION AT BOMB TEST SITE By Jim Peck

AT dawn 30 of us in cars and trucks pulled up to the gate of the installation

entering and leaving the site. One said: "Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons," the name of the sponsoring organisation which is under the leadership of Lawrence Scott. The second said: "Will You Act for Peace Without Fear?" The third said: "That We Shall Not Repeat Hiroshima."

After two hours of vigil, we decided to start our carefully-planned civil disobedience action in which we would seek to enter the test site in teams of two and three.

As the first team—Lawrence Scott, Lillian Willoughby and myself—approached the gate we observed that the authorities had prepared for a military assault rather than for a non-violent act of civil disobedience.

A rolled barbed-wire fence had been erected from the gate to as far as the eye could see. Inside the gate were 40 State troopers and a number of employees of the Atomic Energy Commission, which conducts the bomb testing.

Two steps beyond the gate we were confronted by a heavy-set guard. "You can't come aboard this station without being badged," he said.

### TAKEN FOR TRIAL

Scott, who was spokesman for our team, attempted to explain the reasons for our action. The guard gave no indication of understanding.

Finally Scott asked: "Don't you have any feelings yourself about the bomb?"

"No, none," he answered.

Thereupon State troopers arrested the three of us, took us by the arm, and led us to one of the buildings.

The same thing happened when the next



the southernmost end of Italy, there is a common link between the Oman rebellion and the renewal of Yemeni incursions into the western parts of the Protectorate.

## ULTIMATE EXPLOSION

But even the fact that the "rebels" in both cases claim that they have themselves been the original victims of aggression and are merely seeking to re-establish the independence of areas wrongly taken away from them—in one case for the sake of enormous oil resources believed to exist there, in the other in order to give Aden a background and surrounding screen of British-controlled territory—even that is not yet the point of the greatest importance.

The all-overriding factor is that the whole Arab world is obviously awakening to the contrast between its importance to the West and its subordinate position in the world's counsels and the deplorable living standards of its common people.

In that, it commands the support of all indigenous populations from as far west as the Atlantic coast of Africa to as far east as India and Indonesia, to say nothing of China and every other land that has in the past been forced to accept the white man as the pre-ordained Lord of the Universe.

One-by-one repressions of such rebellions, whether in Algeria, Arabia or any other non-white part of the world, cannot lead to anything in the long run except an all the larger ultimate explosion.

And in the meantime, repression is bound to drive the people of all countries who receive an unduly small proportion of the benefits from the exploitation of their natural resources straight into the welcoming arms of Communist propaganda.

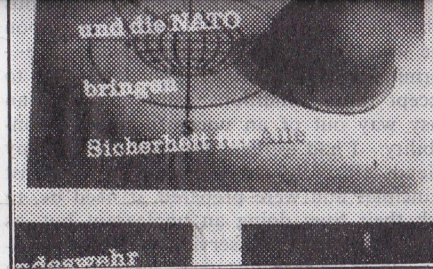
It is more than high time that anything in the nature of force, or association with feudalistic regimes, should cease to play any role whatever in the relations between the West and under-developed countries from which it draws direct or indirect accretions to its power.

See also Sybil Morrison—page eight

## HOLIDAY CONFERENCE

J. Allen Skinner, Associate Editor of "Peace News," will be participating in the discussions at the Summer Holiday Conference, organised by the Peace Pledge Union, at Borth, on the Welsh coast, from September 7 to 14.

Details and reservation particulars may be had from 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.



This poster now appearing in the streets of Western Germany reads "The German Federal Army and NATO bring safety to all."

Many young Germans, however, are refusing military service and are signing the declaration of the War Resisters' International: "War is a crime against humanity. I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive for the removal of all causes of war." *Peace News photo*

## New name for radio-active fall out: "Sunshine units"

CONFERENCE WARNED AGAINST "DOUBLE TALK"

OVER 100 delegates from more than 21 nations were expected to be present in Tokio this week for the World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Disarmament.

The conference, which opened on Hiroshima Day, cabled a message of encouragement to the 11 Americans arrested in the demonstration against US tests in Nevada.

Dr. Homer Jack, one of the organisers of the Nevada action, flew to Tokio to tell the conference about this direct action project.

## ABOLISH WAR

In a speech he warned against the growing "public double-talk" in both East and West which had brought the world to the brink of annihilation.

He cited a US Government research project on Strontium 90, the radio-active fall-out material, inducing cancer and leukaemia.

"What is the name of this research project? Is it called Operation Killer?"

"Of course not, for there must be sugar coating, so it is called 'Operation Sunshine.' They talk of sunshine units of radio-activity as if radio-active fall-out gave off vitamins instead of death!"

Prof. Rotblat, from Britain, the first atomic scientist to address the conference,

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mitted themselves to return to their home areas to rally opposition to nuclear bomb tests.

JIM PECK, *Peace News* correspondent and one of the eleven arrested, describes below the scene in the desert from the start of the 24-hour vigil on Tuesday, August 6, Hiroshima Day.

## FIRST MAJOR ACTION AT BOMB TEST SITE

By Jim Peck

AT dawn 30 of us in cars and trucks pulled up to the gate of the installation known as Camp Mercury and started erecting an awning for our 24-hour prayer and conscience vigil. The temperature in the rugged Nevada desert is 105.

After erecting the awning—made out of a parachute and tied down by stakes—we planted three big signs to be read by all

come aboard this station without being badged," he said.

## TAKEN FOR TRIAL

Scott, who was spokesman for our team, attempted to explain the reasons for our action. The guard gave no indication of understanding.

Finally Scott asked: "Don't you have any feelings yourself about the bomb?"

"No, none," he answered.

Thereupon State troopers arrested the three of us, took us by the arm, and led us to one of the buildings.

The same thing happened when the next team—Ted Klaseen and Ted Olson—arrived at the gate, and the following team—Dave Andrews and Bryce Babcock, and the following team—Sam Tyson and John Ingersoll, and the final team—Albert Bigelow and Prentiss Choate.

We were loaded aboard a big Atomic Energy Commission bus, and, guarded by four State troopers, were driven to Beatty, a desert settlement, for trial before the justice of the peace.

Our attorney was Francis Heisler, well known civil liberties lawyer, who has defended many pacifist cases. We were charged with violating a State law against trespassing. All eleven of us got a chance

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## UN Committee wants apartheid stopped in S.W. Africa

The United Nations Committee on S.W. Africa (the former German colony now administered under a UN mandate by South Africa) has declared that the apartheid by the administration of S.W. Africa is contrary to the spirit and purposes of the Mandates System, the UN Charter, and the Declaration of Human Rights.

The Committee recommends "as a matter of urgency that the Mandatory Power (S. Africa) take steps to repeal all racially discriminatory legislation and practices in the Territory."

South Africa must also prepare the way for self-government of the territory.

Asked by *Peace News* to comment on the report, the Rev. Michael Scott, director of the Africa Bureau, said:

THE United Nations is clearly not in the least deterred by the South African Government's cynical disregard both of world opinion and the interests of the

African inhabitants. It sees South Africa's intransigence and arrogant apartheid policy as a threat to the whole structure and concept of international law and trusteeship.

There is much that the United Nations could do. It could seek the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice and it could invoke one of the action clauses of the Charter which provide for collective action to prevent violation of the Charter. It could extend travel facilities to the inhabitants whose right of petition has been recognised on the part of the South-West African Administration.

Until their own representatives are allowed access to the United Nations I shall continue to do what I can for them as I have been requested by Chief Hosea Kutako. But obviously the right course is for the petitioners themselves to be heard in their own words. The only reason I went to the United Nations originally was because they were prevented from going themselves.

E. A. BERGMAN



Kenneth Kaunda, Secretary of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia puts the African viewpoint in an interview with Gene Sharp.

# WE WANT DEMOCRACY BEFORE FEDERATION

**K**ENNETH Kaunda, the Secretary of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia, sat across the table from me. He is the number two man among the Africans in Northern Rhodesia.

The Africans in that territory, as well as Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia persistently opposed the creation in 1953 of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Now the Africans claim the talk of "partnership" lacks substance and there is danger of the creation in Central Africa of a new "South Africa."

"It is difficult to see the future," Mr. Kaunda told me, "and the Africans are getting more and more frustrated. When Federation was proposed there were protests but no action. It is very wrong to rely on that this time," he added quietly.

"It is very dangerous to say that Africans will do nothing when they see that their independence is going to the central Federation."

The white leaders, he insisted, do not mean well with the Africans. They speak of partnership, "but every day there is apartheid."

There are 2,110,000 Africans in Northern Rhodesia, and 66,000 whites, and 7,100 Asians. Of the 30 seats in the N. Rhodesia Legislative Council, only four are held by Africans, and these are not chosen by direct election. They must be appointed by the Governor.

It is the European members who are fully responsible for the use of funds intended to benefit the Africans. For example, the Regional Selection Trust has offered £2,000,000 to help develop African agriculture and the Government added £4,000,000.

No African has a voice in how this money is spent.

And the Africans do not have confidence in the unselfish motives of the whites. "They have to show us that they deserve it."

## African is awakening

Mr. Kaunda listed a few facts on the difference between the wages and services to Europeans and to Africans:

- There is discrimination in industry.
- The European mine worker receives £200 per month while the African surface mine worker receives £84 per year and the

This was a deliberate policy on the part of the Government, he said, as part of the method of maintaining its supremacy.

Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of the Federation, is in direct charge of the railways, said Mr. Kaunda, yet Africans are not being trained for posts, such as refueling, which Africans are doing in Nyasaland and the Belgian Congo.

Instead, despite talk of "partnership," the Government uses public funds—to which Africans contribute—to bring in Europeans "who are no more trained than Africans" for these jobs. "Why not train the Africans?" asked Mr. Kaunda.

"Sir Roy does this because it is a political issue. These people then vote for him. He wants in ten years time to justify his claim for the political power being in the hands of the Europeans."

## Countering the pressure

The African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia attempts to counter this pressure. Their work is not easy. There are difficulties in raising funds and the ANC is banned in certain areas.

They issue a monthly circular in English, which is translated by branch secretaries into the African languages. Representatives go from village to village discussing the issues with the people.

In June there was an increase of 35 more branches—which Mr. Kaunda interprets as a reaction to Sir Roy's pressure for more rapid steps to make the white settlers fully responsible for political decisions.

There are 300 branches, each of which has a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer. There are branch organising Secretaries in charge of two or more branches.

Above the branches are district organisations with a District Secretary, then

The leaders of the ANC have put proposals before the Government. Telegrams and letters have come from home to Mr. Kaunda and to Harry Nkumbula, the ANC President who was recently in London, saying that "if Sir Roy goes on with his proposals on elections then our demand will be a vote for every man and woman."

"The issues will be put before a meeting when we return and whatever is decided, the Executive will be bound to follow."

The ANC wants instead of the present Federation the development of constitutional and democratic forms of government throughout the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Then the people in these territories should have the right to decide whether to federate or not.

Dr. Alexander Scott, MP, the former owner of the Central African Post, is the only European in Northern Rhodesia to which Africans would look to for guidance.

Mr. Kaunda said that "If we had ten men like Dr. Scott it would bring about a great change."

Dr. Scott is elected by Europeans and Indians in Lusaka, but looks after the interests of the Africans and protests against injustices, "but he is alone."

There is great pressure against Europeans siding with the Africans, for they face social ostracism plus the danger of being branded by the Government as a Communist. "And yet there is partnership!"

Mr. Kaunda's reception in Britain stood in contrast to conditions at home. He was "surprised" at "the amount of courtesy and kindness that I have received here." There are whites who come to Northern Rhodesia "who will not even look at me or greet me in the street."

"During the next three years we will be having a real test time. If we can get through those three years there will be a lot to be said for those who have helped us to do so."

## Club leadership as a form of National Service

By PAUL HONIGMAN

**I**N my last year at University, one of my main problems was what I should do during my period of National Service.

I was fairly certain the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal would register me upon the usual conditions of alternative service—farming or hospital work—but I felt that to accept those conditions would only be an easy way out of an uncomfortable responsibility. I had to recognise that many of my friends sincerely did not share my pacifist principles and were prepared, if need be, to risk their lives doing an unpleasant but, as they saw it, essential service to the community. In these circumstances, mere avoidance of military duties, however valid the reasons, seemed to me to be a form of evasion.

I ought, I felt, to serve in a field in which I had a personal and positive concern.

the time of my two tribunals. Among the usual arguments of cowardice and State necessity, were many powerful ones:

"We don't want War, but what can we do once the politicians have dragged us into it?" or: "You can talk your way out of the army; they wouldn't believe our sort."

A few club members, with criminal records, after the tribunals, paid me the doubtful compliment of having "fooled the Narks."

These discussions had two most important results for me.

First, in order to put ideas across to people with a very small range of words, I had to think out my viewpoint really clearly for the first time.

Secondly, I found my behaviour closely watched, and anything that was inconsistent, in the opinion of club members, with pacifist principles, was immediately commented



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And the Africans do not have confidence in the unselfish motives of the whites. "They have to show us that they deserve it."

## African is awakening

Mr. Kaunda listed a few facts on the difference between the wages and services to Europeans and to Africans:

- There is discrimination in industry.
- The European mine worker receives £200 per month while the African surface mine worker receives £84 per year and the African ground mine worker £96 per year.
- Out of 35,000 to 40,000 Africans employed, only 270 receive £40 per month.
- The ordinary African worker receives only £3 per month. There are 86 of the Africans employed by the Government who receive £50 per month, but the rest of the Africans in the civil service receive an average of £5 per month.

"Five or ten years ago he did not take these things seriously, but now the African is awakening and he is seeing that he has not been getting his share all this time," Mr. Kaunda said.

In the towns, the Africans, Europeans, Indians and Euro-Africans all have their own housing areas which are "water-tight compartments." There are well-laid roads leading to the European areas but very bad roads to the African areas, the "native locations."

In the Lusaka African hospital, which was built to hold 60 beds, there are now between 300 and 400 beds, so that people must even be kept on the roof, exposed to the heat, sun and rain. The good roads end before reaching this African hospital.

## Political power

"The lighter is one's colour, the better the treatment," he added.

In education, only 35,000 to 40,000 African children are well cared for. The rest often growing up in the new urban conditions will have difficulty in adjusting and developing social behaviour.

"Many of these will grow up to be criminals and will become a problem for society," he said. This will lead to more repression, for the European will not distinguish between these people and other Africans, "for they are all Africans."

They issue a monthly circular in English, which is translated by branch secretaries into the African languages. Representatives go from village to village discussing the issues with the people.

In June there was an increase of 35 more branches—which Mr. Kaunda interprets as a reaction to Sir Roy's pressure for more rapid steps to make the white settlers fully responsible for political decisions.

There are 300 branches, each of which has a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer. There are branch organising Secretaries in charge of two or more branches.

Above the branches are district organisations with a District Secretary, then eight provincial organisations.

There is an annual conference which decides on basic policy, and a National Executive Committee of 36 members meets quarterly.

## Non-violent way

The future does not look very bright for the Africans, but despite this Mr. Kaunda said: "One does hope that things will change to show that the Africans present fears are not justified."

In 1960 there will be a review of the Federation. "This Federation was imposed on the Africans because there was a political awakening among the Africans which the Settlers wanted to stop before it got very far," charged Mr. Kaunda.

"If independence is granted to this multi-racial society in which only the Europeans have political power, it is difficult to see what the Africans will do.

"The ANC is carrying the people with it in the non-violent way. We think the best way is that of non-violence, but how far we can go with that we do not know.

"There is a growing group which thinks that the Executive of the Council is not going fast enough, and whether the present Executive will be returned in the next elections we cannot say.

"Harry Nkumbula has always insisted that the answer must be non-violent," Mr. Kaunda told me. "He was under real pressure in 1953 when violence broke out in Nyasaland, but he insisted there must be no fighting.

"I am sure that that has a grip on the minds of the people now, but I am not sure how long that will continue. Others ask how much are they getting by those methods.

"If the Africans and Europeans both take extreme views, then what happens?" he asked.

Objectors' Tribunal would register me upon the usual conditions of alternative service—farming or hospital work—but I felt that to accept those conditions would only be an easy way out of an uncomfortable responsibility. I had to recognise that many of my friends sincerely did not share my pacifist principles and were prepared, if need be, to risk their lives doing an unpleasant but, as they saw it, essential service to the community. In these circumstances, mere avoidance of military duties, however valid the reasons, seemed to me to be a form of evasion.

I ought, I felt, to serve in a field in which I had a personal and positive concern.

## GREAT CHALLENGE

Ever since I had started my University training, I had been going about one evening a week to help in a Quaker Neighbourhood Centre, one of six in different parts of East London. I gradually came to feel that this type of work was not only of vital importance to the general welfare of the community, but was something in which, with three years of voluntary help behind me, I might have a little more experience than in farm work or hospital portering. As it happened, one of the two full-time club leaders left there shortly before my final examinations. Because social workers are very hard to replace, it seemed that here was a specific need which I could try to fulfil.

Both as a form of pacifist witness, and as a service to the country, the work was at once a great challenge.

Although the Centre had club groups for all ages, National Service was for the younger adults and for the youth club one of the most important events of their lives, and so it was, for them especially, of tremendous interest and often a shock to have someone of their own age working in their club, who was not allowing himself to be sucked into the military machine.

## OUTSPOKEN DISCUSSIONS

I must emphasise, however, that though in this respect I may have been a focal point of discussion, I was never an isolated pacifist. My fellow club leader, the workers in our other branches, with whom we met frequently, and many of the voluntary workers, were as keen pacifists as I. Thus they were a mutual source of inspiration and no one of us appeared as an isolated crank.

We used to have long and outspoken discussions with club members, especially at

me... You can talk your way out of the army; they wouldn't believe our sort."

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These discussions had two most important results for me.

First, in order to put ideas across to people with a very small range of words, I had to think out my viewpoint really clearly for the first time.

Secondly, I found my behaviour closely watched, and anything that was inconsistent, in the opinion of club members, with pacifist principles, was immediately commented upon. This, more than anything else, has made me realise that, even for those who cannot accept it for themselves, pacifism is not a negative attitude to War, but part of a positive attitude to living and towards other people.

Although I do not think any boy was ever wholly convinced by what we said, many came to recognise that we had a point of view in which we really believed. Unfortunately, I never found a satisfactory way of explaining why I believed working in their club to be more important than farm or hospital work, and, rather than be hurtful or seem superior, I preferred not to try.

## GRATITUDE

Full employment and high wages, have removed material poverty from East London, but have left behind, or made apparent a deep spiritual poverty. I believe that Neighbourhood Centres are doing a great deal to tackle this problem, by encouraging their members to fuller use of leisure time, stimulating an interest in using their minds, and, where possible, sharing religious experience with them in friendly fellowship.

For reasons of space I have not tried to give a comprehensive picture of club life, but only to consider it as a type of National Service. Now, another conscientious objector is doing his term in the Centre. I look back upon my own with gratitude. It was nearly always physically tough, and often a great mental strain, but I always knew it to be worthwhile. I had a tremendous amount to learn and my youthful ignorance must have been most trying to my colleagues. At first I thought I knew just about everything necessary for club work; now at least I realise how very little I do know. For the one-evening-a-week helper I have once again become I hope this is an advantage!

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## ANOTHER COUNCIL CONSIDERS Ending Civil Defence

DAGENHAM Council, on July 25, considered a motion to "cease acting as the agent of the County Council in Civil Defence".

Speaking to the motion, Alderman Brown said, the Council had never had a full Civil Defence Committee and it was very difficult to get Council members to serve on it.

The Civil Defence service "was quite inadequate to meet atomic war". There was no use saying Civil Defence would be useful on the fringe of an attacked area, because in Britain "there would be no fringe except the sea".

Councillor Larking said he could "no longer be a party to lulling the people of Dagenham into a false sense of security. "If we told the people the stark scientific facts we would not get increased CD enrolment, but massed emigration," he declared.

### TELL PEOPLE THE FACTS

In his opinion people would go to the aid of the injured and all that was needed was the St. John Ambulance Brigade.

Councillor Larkin believed that people should know there was no defence against nuclear bombs and that the Council was wasting its time as they could not defend the public.

He instanced the Government White Paper to support his arguments and stated that America had said she was "ready and waiting for 11,000,000 dead" in an atomic war. "We should tell the people the true facts," he concluded.

Councillor Mrs. Seeney told the Council that during her 13 months on the Civil Defence Committee she had noticed a reluctance of Councillors from both sides to serve on it, and a lack of interest in Civil Defence.

Labour Alderman Mr. Prendergast moved an amendment which retained the first half of the original motion, but instead of discontinuing Civil Defence at an early date the Council would "call a conference of local authorities in Metropolitan Essex with a view to concerted action being taken."

The amendment was carried by 17 votes to 3.

## I'VE NO IDEA

THAT'S what I felt as I sat down before a blank



# Atom test demonstration BLACK SASHES IN CHICAGO

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A BLACK sash march, as a symbol "of our mourning for the countless dead of Hiroshima and those who will die in future generations from radio-active fall-out", was planned to take place in Chicago, USA on Aug. 6, Hiroshima Day.

The march was organised by the national committee for Non-violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, co-ordinated by Lawrence Scott from New York, who, as reported in last week's Peace News took part in the Gandhi-type protest at Nevada against the US nuclear weapon tests, and the Chicago Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee.

The demonstration began with a "silent meeting for worship and meditation, starting as the Civil Defence siren blows." After the march a meeting was arranged at Roosevelt University at which scientists and religious leaders spoke.

A pamphlet for distribution during the march had on the back a petition to the President stating:

**"We urge you to end our testing of nuclear weapons and to take the leadership in getting other nations to do the same."**

Ten thousand Americans, says the pamphlet, have already signed a similar petition to the President.

All those taking part in the demonstration were asked to give their assent to the following discipline for common action:

## Discipline for Common Action

Knowing that the success of present and future direct action projects depends upon the integrity of our witness; that the dignity and maturity with which we act must be consistent with the serious goals we seek; we agree upon the following discipline:

1. We recognise that there is need for agreement on points of discipline, so that there will be confidence among participants.
2. We agree that our attitude toward officials or others who oppose us should be one of sympathetic understanding of the tremendous burden and responsibility which they carry in times of public stress.
3. We agree that we will not respond in violence whatever the provocation by the public or by civic officials.
4. We accept the thesis that evil action has been carried on by both Russia and the United States, but we do not feel that our direct action projects are concerned with assessing the relative degrees of blame; rather, we are concerned with positive peacemaking.
5. We agree to abide by group decision with reference to the conduct of projects, and if anyone feels he cannot do so in easiness of mind, that person should refrain from participating in the specific portion of project, rather than block action for the whole group.
6. The success of a direct action project depends much upon the public view that the participants are not a special, different, or proscribed group whose ideas can therefore be dismissed. We expect, therefore, that participants will dress in typical street attire, and conduct their

## Innocent man saved from gallows

JIM NZIMANDE, a 22-year-old Zulu had been sentenced to death together with 22 other Africans for his part in the killing of five policemen during a raid in Natal, South Africa, last year.

Before the other men were hanged, Mr. Nzimande was able, because of the untiring efforts of Mr. William J. Lamb, an accountant and former President of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, to obtain a stay of execution.

Though, when first approached Mr. Lamb was unable to recall the man, he realised at length that he used to park his car at the garage where Mr. Nzimande worked.

Convinced of the man's innocence Mr. Lamb engaged four firms of attorneys, had two senior councils briefed and paid out about £2,000 in fighting the death sentence. He spent days and week-ends interviewing, questioning and plodding the countryside of Natal.

Together with the attorneys "who worked all hours," Mr. Lamb unravelled the human elements of love, jealousy and hate behind the case and was able to establish that Mr. Nzimande was not present at the scene of the murder.

By the unanimous judgment of the Appeal Court, the conviction was quashed and Jim Nzimande left Pretoria Central Prison recently, a free man.

### DANGERS OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Commenting on the case, one South African paper made the following points:

"It is likely that people in the Union who oppose capital punishment will cite Jim's case in future campaigns to abolish the death penalty.

"Their argument will be that here is a proven case of a man nearly going to the gallows when he was innocent.

"They say: 'It was luck that saved Jim—luck because his friends happened to find a man like Mr. Lamb to take an interest in the case.'"

The Hon. F. A. W. Lucas, former Judge, said in Johannesburg: "I cannot comment on the manner in which the case was conducted. But the result shows the grave danger involved in the infliction of capital punishment. It means that one has to be very careful about imposing such a sen-



reluctance of Councillors from both sides to serve on it, and a lack of interest in Civil Defence.

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## I'VE NO IDEA

THAT'S what I felt as I sat down before a blank sheet of paper to draft this appeal for the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters' Fund and I am still wondering what I can say to ensure that all who read it will want to respond.



That the cause is the best there is must be obvious at least to all those who do not believe that the H-bomb is a deterrent. In the face of the failure of violence only pacifism has a realistic alternative to offer. That you should be interested in the spread of pacifism is implied by the fact that you read Peace News.

The best cause cannot become the accepted cause until everybody has had the chance to hear about it, and that means increased activity which depends partly on the money available to the PPU. But that depends partly on you and if you have not already responded to former appeals I have no idea how to make certain that you will send a gift to the PPU Headquarters' Fund during this year, if not during this week. This week would be better because you may forget later and we really do need the money now.

Will you please take a look at the amount received so far and the amount we plan to raise by the end of the year. Yes, it is a bit of a shock: two-thirds of the year almost gone, but we have not yet raised one-third of the amount we need. I have no idea how much you can afford, but I have a very good idea that you can afford something. So will you show me how much?

**STUART MORRIS** General Secretary  
Our aim for the year: £1,150  
Amount received to date: £361

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

leukaemia and the dose of radiation, using several sets of figures, including some from the survivors of the Japanese bombings.

Dr. Lewis estimates that 20 per cent of leukaemia occurs from natural background radiation. There appears to be no threshold dose of radiation below which some leukaemia will not appear. Another inducing agent for leukaemia is thought to be the emission of beta rays from Strontium 90 in human bone.

Dr. Lewis concluded that if Strontium 90 induces leukaemia of bone-marrow origin at the same rate as do X-rays and external radiation from atomic bombs, then Strontium 90 fall-out—if the present nuclear weapon test rate is maintained would be expected to increase the incidence of leukaemia in the United States (now numbering about 10,500 deaths a year) from 5 to 10 per cent.

A limited number of reprints of Dr. Lewis's paper are available without cost from Dr. Homer Jack, 40 E. 35th Street, New York 16, NY, USA.

## BRAVELY ENDORSED PACIFIST POLICIES

THE Rt. Hon. Richard R. Stokes, Labour MP for Ipswich, died this month.

*Vera Brittain writes:*

Richard Stokes was one of the very few outstanding politicians who consciously sacrificed party promotion to humanitarian ideals and religious faith.

I remember making this point towards the end of World War II, when I took the Chair at a Caxton Hall meeting to protest against the starvation of Europe's children by the food blockade. On that occasion the three speakers were James Maxton, Tom Wintringham, and R. R. Stokes. All three of these courageous men have now left the scene of mortal conflict, but their names are revered by every man and woman who respects charity, compassion and truth.

Dick Stokes was not a pacifist, but few Members of Parliament have so bravely endorsed pacifist policies at great cost to themselves. Those of us who helped to "brief" him for his speeches against saturation bombing and the blockade of Occupied Europe with material which he conscientiously studied and used, will remember him with gratitude long after the holders of those top positions, which he rated less highly than his principles, have been forgotten.

5. We agree to abide by group decision with reference to the conduct of projects, and if anyone feels he cannot do so in easiness of mind, that person should refrain from participating in the specific portion of project, rather than block action for the whole group.
6. The success of a direct action project depends much upon the public view that the participants are not a special, different, or proscribed group whose ideas can therefore be dismissed. We expect, therefore, that participants will dress in typical street attire, and conduct their actions in a manner which seem likely to bring public acceptance.

## Briefly

More than 500 engineering students of Madrid University were on a 24 hour sit-down strike in protest recently, against Government decisions.

Four hundred families will be allowed to emigrate every year from Japan to Argentina. The Japan Emigration Promotion Co., has bought land for this purpose in Misiones Province where many pre-war Japanese immigrant farmers live.

## CO-OPERATIVE SHOPPING

### The difference between ordinary and Co-operative shopping

The most important difference is that you, the shopper, are the owner of the shop. Therefore, the greater use you make of the services offered by the Society, the greater the profit to yourself.

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For any other information required write or telephone

**Public Relations Officer, 54 Maryland Street, Stratford, E.15.**

(Maryland 4201)

**LONDON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LIMITED**



## Freeing Europe

MR. Khrushchov's visit to Berlin was, no doubt, intended to make certain that the leaders in East Germany understood the "new look" in the Soviet Union and also to bring what influence he could to bear on West German elections, which will be held in a month's time.

The Soviet leader's two important pronouncements warn the Western Powers that in the event of war they will have no defence against the latest nuclear weapons and endorse recent East German proposals for a confederation as a step towards German unity.

Whether confederation is a feasible solution or not, it is certain that the continued refusal of Dr. Adenauer, and the Western Powers, to recognise the existence of an East German Government makes negotiations impossible. It is high time that Dr. Adenauer took the telescope from his blind eye and faced the realities of the situation, and that British and American politicians should insist on his doing so instead of doing all they can to bolster up his election propaganda.

But it is even more important for the West to give a serious reply to the Soviet proposals for easing tension in Europe. Mr. K. has repeated with greater clarity Mr. B.'s offer to withdraw all Russian troops from East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania if American (italics are ours) troops are withdrawn from West Germany and other bases in Europe.

If this is not mere propaganda bluff, and there is no reason to suppose it is, the proposal is much more important than Eisenhower's "Open Skies".

It makes possible the freedom of the satellite States and the reunification of Germany both of which we profess to desire.

It would be some safeguard against surprise attack in Europe, give a new approach to disarmament, and incidentally, mean the ending of American bases here.

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary should give favourable consideration to the proposals as a matter of urgency.

## Krushchov's visit

THE differences in the accounts given in the Sunday Times and the Observer of the significance of the visit of Messrs. Krushchov and Mikoyan to East Germany are striking.



friendly relations with a unified Germany, so long as it were not made a base of operations for an army of assault in Europe.

There is general agreement among those journalists who have been to Russia to observe the Youth Festival that a considerable change of attitude is apparent with regard to the possibility of free contact between the ordinary Russian people and

those from other lands. A liberalisation that takes its shape from decisions made at the top of a governing oligarchy must inevitably be precarious until the character of the governing structure itself is transformed.

There seems to be reason to hope, however that we may look for real changes in relationships in the East and West in the months to come.

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## WAR METHODS IN ALGERIA

IN his letter on page eight, M. R. Thibault, Press Counsellor of the French Embassy, says:

"If Peace News means to protest, in the name or principles for which it stands, it would certainly act honourably by raising its voice in condemnation of collective outrages."

This kind of reaction: "Don't concern yourself with the bad things we are doing, but pay attention to the atrocious things being done by those against whom we are acting," is automatic in such cases. We are very familiar with it from British as well as French imperialists.

If M. Thibault's attention had been drawn to earlier comments in Peace News he would know that we have not only deplored the outrages by Algerians but have urged that they should not resort to arms at all. M. Thibault would not have liked these comments any more, however. Although we hold that it is not desirable for the Algerians to resist by violence the minority rule imposed on them by armed force, we believe they should resist.

★ ★  
MR. GALE'S article in the Observer last Sunday shows that both police and the military took no effective action to prevent atrocities by the French in Algiers in retaliation for an Algerian bomb outrage on the day he describes.

Possibly M. Thibault will give the Observer a convincing explanation why French police and military authorities in Algeria are impotent to prevent happenings such as these or to punish those involved.

Until he does we do not think it unreasonable to assume that the kind of events referred to by MM. Pierre Martin, Pierre-Henri Simon and Servan-Schreiber have actually occurred. The resignation of General Bollardiere, when he refused to comply with the demand of General Massu, mentioned earlier in Peace News, along with other incidents we have reported, indicates that the practices of torture were at one time becoming extensive.

## U.S. mania

THERE is a sequel to the Moscow Youth Festival that strikingly illustrates the illogicality that obtains in regard to the US Government's attitude to China. There were many young Americans at Moscow, and during the proceedings some 50 of them received offers of special facilities to visit China.

Already a spokesman of the US State Department has made his pronouncement on the subject: The US Government is firmly opposed to Americans visiting China.

In the eyes of the US authorities, therefore, although Communism is of course to be condemned, there is an important division between two sorts of Communism: that which it is possible to accept as existing in the world and that which is completely unacceptable. This division is not between the Communism of Yugoslavia and the Poland of to-day, on the one hand, and Russia and the remaining Communist countries on the other. The division groups Russia, Poland and Yugoslavia together as acceptable, and regards only the Chinese type of Communism as something that must be relegated to outer darkness.

This denial to the Government of Mao Tse-tung of an acceptance that was accorded to the Government of Stalin is a ridiculous attitude. An administration capable of being guided by a policy so preposterous forfeits any claim to world leadership!

A report received from the Young Quakers at the Moscow Youth Festival is held over until next week.

## NATO propaganda

FOLLOWING hard on the heels of Eisenhower's Open Skies Exhibition which flopped all round Europe comes another masterpiece of realistic military planning. The latest display that has been dreamed up out of the taxpayers' pockets by the propaganda experts is "Britain in NATO" now doing the rounds in England. Most popular feature in the show is a juke-box which plays "popular music" of the NATO countries.

After a lot of films, charts and photographs showing aggressive Communist forces and defensive NATO forces is a single uncaptioned picture. It shows a triumphant youth standing over a street bonfire on which is clearly seen one of Lenin's works. The scene is obviously Budapest.

The time, when NATO was doubtless planning its exhibition about the defence of freedom...

We all know why NATO was useless in an emergency, helpless in defending freedom.



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## Krushchov's visit

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Mr. Anthony Terry, of the Sunday Times, holds that the Russians are primarily concerned with delays in East Germany's fulfilment of its delivery undertakings to Russia, and that there is no intention on the part of the Russian Government to make any major changes in the East German leadership.

Mr. Lajos Lederer, of the Observer, however, takes the view that the most important matter under discussion is a Russian move to bring Herr Ulbricht, the East German Communist leader, into line in moves for the "liberalising" of the regime, and that a policy along these lines was to be worked out between Khrushchov and Mikoyan on the one hand, and Ulbricht and Grotewohl on the other, at a villa in Saxony during the weekend.

Mr. Lederer also makes the suggestion that there may be a marking time on the question of German reunification until such time as the internal conditions in East Germany have been improved and its Government has in consequence acquired an improved international standing.

The single political party of East Germany—Communist-led, but embracing some of those who were formerly Social Democrats and who may hope to be so again—has made a pronouncement in favour of support for the West German Social Democrats in the elections to be held next month. Dr. Adenauer is naturally making capital out of this fact, but it is evident that if there could be a victory for the Social Democrats and a genuine liberalisation in East Germany, talks between the two sides on the subject of German unity would offer much more chance of success.

Speaking at Leipzig, Mr. Khrushchov said that the Russian Government desires that the German people may as quickly as possible realise their unity, and that Russia would be ready to maintain the most

not have liked these comments any more, however. Although we hold that it is not desirable for the Algerians to resist by violence the minority rule imposed on them by armed force, we believe they should resist.

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The French Government is now on the defensive in this matter, and we are glad to believe that such practices are not now so likely to occur.

**M. THIBAUT refers us to The Times summary of the Commission set up by the Committee Against Concentration Camp Practices.**

The Report itself is far less reassuring than The Times might suggest. It says that during the weeks in which people captured by military units have been detained by the police they have been subjected to interrogations which "in many cases have undoubtedly been accompanied by cruelties and even by tortures." M. Thibault's remark that the Commission's Report shows that "if cases of torture have been recorded they have occurred without the consent of the French authorities" needs to be set beside the following statement in the Report:

"One of the inspectors-general of the administration has recognised explicitly before the delegation that torture was applied and that it was the only means of obtaining information on projected outrages, information which, according to the same authority and other persons, would make it possible to preserve a great number of human lives."

**WE comment on the basis of an assumption not within the purview of M. Thibault to discuss.**

That is that the Algerians are within their rights in demanding that they shall be permitted to govern themselves democratically, and that if an attempt be made by armed force to prevent them from exercising democratic self-government they are to be commended if they resist—although we believe that they will do well to resist without arms or violence, and that they are reducing their own power in resorting to violence.

Pierre Martin, who supplied the information about which M. Thibault has written, has made contact with some of those who speak for the Algerian "rebels," and reports that the following statement has their approval:

"The peaceful solution of the Algerian problem is desired by all Algerian patriots. It is possible on the basis of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination, a right expressing itself through the election of a sovereign constituent assembly through universal suffrage without distinction of race or religion."

"Such an assembly freely elected, after the cessation of military and police repression, the liberation of all those in detention for political reasons, and the re-establishment of all democratic liberties, would permit the creation of an authentic representation of the Algerian people which would be able to discuss with France on the footing of equality, the problem of the relations between the two countries."

If M. Thibault would like to comment on this statement we shall be glad to publish what he has to say.

dreamed up out of the taxpayers' pockets by the propaganda experts is "Britain in NATO" now doing the rounds in England. Most popular feature in the show is a juke-box which plays "popular music of the NATO countries."

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The time when NATO was doubtless planning its exhibition about the defence of freedom...

We all know why NATO was useless in an emergency, helpless in defending freedom in Hungary. Man will never find security through arms. We do not offer a drowning man water on which to float.

## NOTEBOOK

### Gandhian protest at Nevada

John Hoyland, well-known Birmingham Quaker and peace worker, tells me that the day before the US pacifists staged their Gandhian protest at Nevada he received a letter from "an old Quaker friend in New York," saying that the action had been inspired by "Harold Steele and other British examples."

My own judgment would be of like minds at work on both sides of the Atlantic from the moment Peace News mooted the idea of a protest in the Christmas Island test area, although there is no doubt that Harold Steele's action and the subsequent world-wide Press publicity did much to quicken US pacifists in their determination to undertake their own direct action project.

I was glad to be able to tell Harold Steele all about the plans for Nevada when he returned to London on August 2.

### Devadas Gandhi

Devadas Gandhi, the Mahatma's youngest son, did invaluable work in keeping Peace News in touch with Harold Steele in Delhi. He died suddenly on the day Harold Steele arrived in London, indeed only three days before he was in Bombay and insisted on driving Harold Steele to the BOAC office.

As managing editor of the Hindustan Times he was well placed to assist in this way.

Because he was unable to go to Christmas Island himself, Devadas asked me at the time not to make public his sympathy with the project.

THE EDITOR.



# INDIAN INDEPENDENCE: THE MESSAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE SPREADS

**NEXT** Sunday (August 18) India will commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the Mutiny and the tenth anniversary of the achievement of independence.

Some concern has been expressed in Britain that the centenary of the Mutiny should be occupying a more prominent place in the celebrations than the decade of independence. The Mutiny has evil memories both for British and Indian people, and, later, India was to learn from Mahatma Gandhi a better way of fighting for freedom. Nevertheless, the Mutiny is historic for India.

It was the first occasion when an organised effort was made to throw off the British yoke. Had it been successful it would have been remembered not as the Mutiny but as the war of independence. It is natural that independent India should pay homage to those who were the vanguard of its national freedom, however much some of their actions are deplored. In emphasising 1857 there is no intention to minimise 1947: a century comes less often than a decade.

## The National Congress

The Mutiny was mainly a revolt by Indian regiments. It took ten years to crush. Then for a period the spirit of nationalism seemed to be broken. Sixteen years later, the Indian National Congress was formed—on the initiative not of an Indian, but of an Englishman! A. O. Hume was a retired civil servant, alive with the liberal ideas of his time. The Indians who associated themselves with him were content to ask for very modest reforms.

Since this cautious beginning, the story of the struggle for national liberty in India, led by the National Congress, has become a classic among all peoples claiming freedom. Gandhi and Nehru are not only great Indian figures. They belong to all Asia and Africa. The Indian National Congress became the model of nationalist organisation in every dependent country.

The Congress began as a movement of the new professional class, mostly lawyers. Later, many of the new industrialists threw

belonged that its strength became invincible.

I had the good fortune to be in India at the Madras Congress in 1927 which dramatised this great change. Delegates poured into the city from villages near and far, often travelling many days. I don't know how many tens of thousands came.

by  
**Fenner Brockway, M.P.**  
**CHAIRMAN OF THE MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM**

I do know that a special suburb, rows upon rows of wooden huts, had to be built to accommodate them and that a new railway line and station had to be constructed to receive them.

This was not a political organisation. It was a nation! Twenty years passed before independence was gained; but no one who was at Madras doubted that India belonged, not to Britain, but to Congress.

The national movements in most dependent countries have followed this Indian experience, broadening from the privileged few to the masses; but it is worth considering why the Gandhi method of non-violent resistance to imperialist domination was not as generally followed. In no other country would it have been possible to call off a campaign, as Gandhi did more than once, because violence had been used.

## South Africa

Africans explain the difference on racial grounds. "Non-violence may suit the Hindus", they say, "it will never suit our people." Yet it was in South Africa that Gandhi first tested the non-violent technique.

Admittedly this was among Indians; but in recent years the Africans in the Union have adopted the method of non-violent resistance more fully than in any part of the Continent.

Co-operating closely, the African and Indian National Congresses of South Africa carried through, a few years ago, the campaign of refusal to obey the laws of racial discrimination, crossing the frontiers of the

against colour humiliation.

Since then the technique has been developed further: the wonderful protest against increased charges for transport between distant locations to which Africans had been compulsorily transferred and their places of work, the silent procession of thousands of African labourers walking eighteen miles a day. The most recent instance is the decision to boycott goods produced by firms owned by white leaders of apartheid.

The Christian Churches now announce that they will practise "non co-operation" when the Government applies the new law limiting the right of coloured persons to worship with whites. The South African Opposition is widely adopting the Gandhian technique.

India's achievement of independence has saved a large part of Africa from the necessity of massed resistance over a long period of years. Britain learned the lesson of the Indian victory; British Governments realised that the claims of peoples to decide their own destinies cannot be resisted beyond a certain stage; a growing section of the British people recognised the justice of the claim.

## An African Gandhi?

Thus it is that in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Tanganyika, as well as in Asian Malaya and the islands of the Caribbean, constitutional readjustments have been made, in response to the pressures of the peoples, which have progressively permitted the national movements to use in the main political methods to advance toward their freedom.

Cyprus in Europe, Kenya in East Africa, are recent exceptions; and Archbishop Makarios has said to me that it might have been better if the Cypriots had adopted the Gandhian method, a leading African has commented that the Kikuyu, disciplined and organised, could have gained far more by non-violent, non-co-operation, than by Mau Mau. These are not so much conversions in principle as a realisation that when armed might is in the hands of an Occupying Power the technique of non-co-operation could not only cause less human suffering but would be more effective.

Conflict now looms over Central Africa.

## Are the hepcats getting square?

By Ralph Blackwood

**G**ANDHISM, Christianity, whatever it is, it's spreading. A slangy column in the Pittsburgh Courier, a weekly newspaper mostly for and about Negroes, has been infected by the contagious virus.

No squares are supposed to read this hep column from Memphis, Tennessee's blues singing Beale Street. Anyhow, they couldn't decipher the Blues Avenue lingo.

Now we squares may not be very hep, but we know enough not to expect to see a hepcat in church or to hear a hepcat mouthing pious phrases from the Sermon on the Mount. Instead of being down on his knees in church he'd more than likely be found down on his knees in some alley with a circle of friends coaxing along those black-eyed bones. Or perhaps he'd be rockin' 'n' rollin' to some live jive with his slick chick.

So this particular square did a double take when he saw the Courier's Beale Street column lead off with:

"You'll wait  
Much too late,  
If you hate  
At the gate!  
Mate!"

Wondering if hepcats were getting square or if this square was getting hep, I read on.



It seems that Nat D. Williams, author of the column called, "Down on Beale," had been listening in on a conversation.

One man said that southern white folks don't really hate Negroes but just a few politicians are preaching hate to get something for themselves.

Another said that this might make a good theory but the fact was, a lot of dark heads were "being soundly patted with the blackjacks of prejudice however innocent the white blackjacks might be."

I kept reading:

"But it was the third man who hit what the corner thinks is the



## South Africa

Hume was a retired civil servant, alive with the liberal ideas of his time. The Indians who associated themselves with him were content to ask for very modest reforms.

Since this cautious beginning, the story of the struggle for national liberty in India, led by the National Congress, has become a classic among all peoples claiming freedom. Gandhi and Nehru are not only great Indian figures. They belong to all Asia and Africa. The Indian National Congress became the model of nationalist organisation in every dependent country.

The Congress began as a movement of the new professional class, mostly lawyers. Later, many of the new industrialists threw in their lot with it. For forty years Congress remained the political expression mainly of the affluent and the intellectual.

Gandhi is remembered mostly because he taught a new method of struggle, non-violent resistance. But he also made another great contribution to the nationalist cause. He brought in the common people, the millions who are poor, the millions who had lived forgotten in the villages. It was only when the Indian National Congress, under the Mahatma's leadership, became a movement to which the villagers, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, consciously

Africans explain the difference on racial grounds. "Non-violence may suit the Hindus", they say, "it will never suit our people." Yet it was in South Africa that Gandhi first tested the non-violent technique.

Admittedly this was among Indians; but in recent years the Africans in the Union have adopted the method of non-violent resistance more fully than in any part of the Continent.

Co-operating closely, the African and Indian National Congresses of South Africa carried through, a few years ago, the campaign of refusal to obey the laws of racial discrimination, crossing the frontiers of the Provinces without passes, entering railway stations by doorways marked "Europeans only", taking their places on buses and trains reserved for Whites. Nearly eight thousand Africans and Indians were arrested; there was even a small group of Europeans, including Patrick Duncan, son of an ex-Governor General, who acted with them, defying the colour bar in reverse.

This campaign was exactly modelled on the Indian example of "non-co-operation with evil." It faded away; but it did much to strengthen African self-respect and self-reliance. It did much to cement African and Indian unity in the common struggle

the national movements to advance toward their political methods to advance toward their freedom.

Cyprus in Europe, Kenya in East Africa, are recent exceptions; and Archbishop Makarios has said to me that it might have been better if the Cypriots had adopted the Gandhian method, a leading African has commented that the Kikuyu, disciplined and organised, could have gained far more by non-violent, non-co-operation, than by Mau Mau. These are not so much conversions in principle as a realisation that when armed might is in the hands of an Occupying Power the technique of non-co-operation could not only cause less human suffering but would be more effective.

Conflict now looms over Central Africa. I wish we had an African Gandhi to lead the frustrated peoples of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. I wish we had more Whites there, and in our British Government, who would respond in the Gandhian spirit.

I have departed far from the Indian Mutiny and India's independence; but this shows how India's example has affected and is affecting the whole world and how sincere should be our greetings to India this weekend when it celebrates its freedom, and remembers those who served to achieve it.

Copyright in India and Africa reserved to author.

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I kept reading:

"But it was the third man who hit what the corner thinks is the keynote theme of the confab. He said, 'Regardless what the white folk do at the outset, it's what the Negro does in long pull that counts and will settle the issue. If the Negro tries to repay in kind with hard words, lies, disregard for the other fellow's feelings, and hate, then we may as well kiss civil rights goodbye. I agree with Rev. Luther King's idea of battling this thing with love.'

"I think every Negro who thinks Christ preached and practised what was right, will agree that the way of love for hate is the only sure and lasting way for the Negro or anybody else to win."

"... Don't get mad, get smart. The smart thing for Negroes to do now is to keep on demanding civil rights and justice with the soft words of calm... and the big stick of righteous determination, based on brotherly love." Who knows? Maybe it's gettin' where to be hep you gotta love your enemies.

## GENE SHARP REPORTS ON THE PLAID CYMRU ANNUAL CONFERENCE

# Fight for Tryweryn must go on

"IF we are decided to stand firmly as one body, we shall yet save Tryweryn," declared R. R. Tudor Jones at the Plaid Cymru (Welsh Nationalist Party) Annual Conference at Bangor.

He was moving an emergency resolution on the plan to drown Tryweryn Valley to provide water for Liverpool's industrial needs and for her to sell to other cities. The previous week the Bill had passed its third reading in the House of Commons and received the Royal Assent.

## EMERGENCY RESOLUTION

The emergency resolution, passed unanimously, declared that the conference deplored the passing of the Bill in Parliament, reaffirmed that Welsh resources belong to Wales and not to England, and thanked the Merionethshire County Council (where Treweryn Valley is located) for its opposition to the scheme.

It criticised the Minister of Welsh Affairs, Mr. Brooke, as deceitful because of

his support of the Bill on the second reading in the Commons when no Welsh MP supported it, and deplored the fact that on the third reading the Welsh MPs had not insisted on a debate.

The resolution declared that whereas the "London Parties" are divided on the issue, "it is clear that no English Party can be depended on to defend Welsh interests."

It had become clear, stated the resolution, that Welsh resources could not be preserved without a Welsh Parliament. It concluded that the fight for the life of Tryweryn Valley "must be continued."

The main resolution of the conference dealt with the significance of the recent publication of "The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy 1948-1952."

The resolution stated that the statistics had "demonstrated the utter falsity" of the charge that Wales was too poor to afford self-government. "A flourishing Wales is an achievement within the grasp of our nation if only it will exert itself

to organise and plan its resources and economic life in a rational way. For Wales is now, to all intents and purposes, paying its way."

It warned that "The unduly large proportion of the Welsh income which is spent on armaments and on the debt resulting from the past wars emphasises the need of freedom for Wales to pursue her own foreign policy."

## SELF-GOVERNMENT

It pointed out that despite rich resources and "even under the present form of government, Wales has a viable economy" that there are weaknesses in that economy. These included a dangerous dependence on a few basic industries, an "alarming failure" to develop agriculture, a lower standard of living in Wales than in England, lower salaries per head in Wales than in England, and the need of Welsh control over the marketing as well as production of her goods.

It declared that the first condition for building in Wales "a strong and prosperous economy... is the achievement of full self-government."

The Conference unanimously called on the Government "to put an end to the testing of hydrogen bombs, to refuse to manufacture them, and to declare that it will not use them."

Other resolutions dealt with housing, electoral reform, old age pensions, local elections, and the setting up of a Welsh Broadcasting Corporation.

In addition to the re-election without opposition of Alderman Gwynfor Evans as President for two years, and Mr. Dan Thomas as Treasurer for one year, Dr. R. Tudor Jones was elected Vice-President for one year.



## Edwin Clogg

A BRIEF notice has appeared in Peace News of the death of Edwin Clogg in an unsuccessful attempt to rescue a boy from drowning in the River Axe, at Bleadon, near Weston-super-Mare.

This outspoken, uncompromising little Cornishman was a CO in World War I. He spent two and a half years of it in Dartmoor Prison. Thereafter he ran a grocery business in Bournemouth, where he campaigned for the Labour Party in the stimulating times when it was not respectable to do so.

Living on the profits of business did not satisfy his deep socialist convictions, and a year or so before the outbreak of World War II he joined a fellow pacifist, Bert Over, on his Community Fruit Farm at Bleadon.

For the rest of the 70 years of his useful and dedicated life, Edwin Clogg lived in a small hut, just large enough to hold his bed, his table, a small cooking stove, and some cupboards for his clothes and books. Latterly he added the refinement of a wireless set.

His capacity for hard work, and the resultant production and distribution of fruit and vegetables from the two-acre holding, were alike prodigious. He kept only sufficient for his own modest, vegetarian needs. All the rest was given away to hospitals, children's homes and institutions, and schools in the district.

Thus was built up a wide connection of service and goodwill wherein not a penny changed hands. To some of us, who perhaps in spite of ourselves, are involved in the profit motive, this would appear, to say the least, eccentric. To most people, plain mad. To Bert Over and Edwin Clogg it was the essence of socialism and the true basis for a pacifist society.

When raspberries, strawberries, apples, or plums were ripe, the Fruit Farm at Bleadon would be occupied by parties of children from some of the homes or schools that were supplied, and on these occasions, Edwin Clogg, stripped to the waist, became a benevolent task-master, urging on his pickers with boisterous good humour. He bottled literally thousands of pounds of surplus fruit over a wood fire in a large hole outside his hut, and in the winter months, he wove hundreds of scarves for refugees in Europe.

He lived like a modern Thoreau, and at one time, on as little as 2s. 6d. a week. When he travelled as he did once a year,

## Letters to the Editor

the same thing. For instance, we are producing aircraft and cars at a prodigious rate. The workers are very highly paid, without any regard to the supply of other essential goods, and if we multiply incomes in this way from one source, are we not again pouring money into the market to compete for the more common things of life? Inflation?

Surely it is true that any addition to the volume of income—whether it be for makers of arms or aircraft, teachers, soldiers, shoemakers or statesmen—is also an addition to the value of goods available.—P. GWYNE DAVIES, N. Wales.

*It is true that if part of the national earnings are spent on teachers and statesmen it will not be possible to provide for the production of as many shoes, clothes, vegetables, etc., and that these things and the other things that we desire will not be in such plentiful supply. We have decided however that we want the services of teachers, musicians, actors and other entertainers, and even statesmen, and their services have to be set beside the food and clothing that we need as part of the total production and services for which purchasing power will be distributed in remuneration.*

*Similarly we have decided, or it has been decided for us, that we need soldiers,*

*arms, fighting aircraft, prototypes of new weapons, and A- and H-bombs. It is true that the workers who produce these things must be paid, but the "goods" they produce are available as well as the purchasing power represented by their pay, which is deducted through taxes from the purchasing power of the rest of us.*

*It is true that if we decided to do without arms just as it is true that if we decided to do without teachers or entertainers, we could have more and better goods of other kinds; that is a different matter however, from the inflationary trend that the Germans suffered in the between-war years and that it seems may now be threatening ourselves.—Ed.*

### Christian Pacifism

BEFORE we can ever hope for a radical adoption of non-violence as a policy for so-called Christendom, it will be necessary to re-educate the public as to the nature of true Christianity. This will involve something of which the most Rev. T. D. Roberts could hardly approve—the unravelling of Roman paganism from the pure Creed of Christ, which would be rather shaking to the foundations of the Catholic Church.

For it is necessary to face the fact that the pacific, non-violent, compassionate way of life taught on the hills of Galilee was

hopelessly adulterated by the Fathers of the Early Church through the adoption of the rites and outlook of the militaristic Cult of Mithras, the God who, as Professor Cumont reminds us, brought the disastrous teaching of the Divine Right of Kings to the Western world.

The famous Labarum designed by one who Tolstoy so rightly called "that scoundrel Constantine" was the symbol of the fatal syncretism effected by the Church and State, the sword and radiant crown used in the initiation ceremonies of Mithras being entwined and "sanctified" by the initials of the Prince of Peace.

It was certainly by this "sign" that Constantine conquered the West; and this unholy wedlock of peace preached and war practised made it impossible for Christianity to perform its mission of saving the world from its own violence and establishing the reign of peace and goodwill to all men. After nearly 2,000 years of the creed of Mithras-Christis, we have the H-bomb tests, and the significant fact that it is the "Christian" nations who have used the A-bomb.

The tree is known by its fruits. The Example for all Christians suffered crucifixion rather than employ violence in self-defence. The soldiers of Mithras established by force the Pax Romana that has ensured the present Western civilisation, including total war and nuclear fission. It is time the Gospel according to Jesus Christ—and Tolstoy—was tried.—ESME WYNNE-TYSON, Clarwyn, East Beach, Selsey, Sussex.

The last of four reports from Yugoslavia on "The Second Communist Revolution" by Sidney Lens, American trade unionist and author

## THE MELLOWING REVOLUTION

"EVERY revolution," says a foreigner stationed in Yugoslavia for a long time, "has to mellow. Titoism may very well be the mellowing of Stalinism."

The mellowing is perhaps best illustrated in small things. Six years ago no Yugoslav would speak to a foreigner except on official business. This year Yugoslav girls go out on dates with Americans or Britishers without looking over their shoulders to see if the secret police are watching. A Yugoslav no longer fears to visit a foreign friend at his hotel, or to listen to Voice of America rock 'n' roll music.

Borba, one of the two leading official papers, recently took a poll of some 7,000

ernment Ministers earn £70 a month and are permitted the use of better living quarters. One or two notches down, the salaries taper off precipitously, to between £13 and £40 a month. This includes plant officials, League of Communist leaders, union officials. And not too many of these get "extras" such as the use of a car or a dacha.

These standards are still much higher than those of the average worker who earns only £10 to £13 a month. But they are hardly lavish.

Aside from a few top bureaucrats, the people with the highest incomes are self-employed men such as doctors and artisans. These may earn as much as £300 a month. When the Government recently lowered

relax a bit or must call on the US for more aid.

American aid, it is admitted by Yugoslav economists, has been one of the major reasons for the mellowing. It makes up the difference for the unfavourable balance of trade.

Withdrawal of US aid or bad crops can push Yugoslavia back towards more compulsion. There is a dangerous inner-dynamic within its society, with segments of the bureaucracy pressing for more centralisation and privilege, while others insist on further relaxation.

The workers councils at the bottom want more rights; the leaders at the top often want more restrictions. The centra-



It was the essence of socialism and the true basis for a pacifist society.

When raspberries, strawberries, apples, or plums were ripe, the Fruit Farm at Bleadon would be occupied by parties of children from some of the homes or schools that were supplied, and on these occasions, Edwin Clogg, stripped to the waist, became a benevolent task-master, urging on his pickers with boisterous good humour. He bottled literally thousands of pounds of surplus fruit over a wood fire in a large hole outside his hut, and in the winter months, he wove hundreds of scarves for refugees in Europe.

He lived like a modern Thoreau, and at one time, on as little as 2s. 6d. a week. When he travelled, as he did once a year to visit the Wheathill Brudernhof and other communities, advising them on farm and garden matters, he thumbed lifts across the length and breadth of the land.

During the war, many COs worked like myself for varying periods on Bert Over's Community Fruit Farm, and were grateful for Edwin Clogg's encouragement, and the example of his life of service.

We may not all wish to live outside the capitalist system as he strove to do; but there are many in North Somerset to whom Edwin Clogg brought much happiness, and still more in the pacifist movement who owe gratitude to him for the manner of his life and death.—C.F.W.

## Armaments and inflation

I WAS considerably surprised by a statement in "In Perspective" for July 19. Your contributor quotes a statement that expenditure on armaments makes a particular contribution to inflation, and then adds "we believe this view to rest on an economic fallacy." He does not indicate what the fallacy is, and I am sure many of your readers would like an explanation.

Great expenditure on arms is always accompanied by inflation, and it appears to me a logical consequence as such expenditure disturbs the normal working of supply and demand. When arms are produced, obviously the labour involved ceases to contribute to the supply of things by which we live. The workers concerned do not cease to consume, and their pay—often greatly higher than that of workers in lifegiving industry—goes into the market to compete for the, possibly reduced, supply of essential goods. Isn't that contributing to inflation?

I am growing more and more inclined to think that unbalanced industry can do

"EVERY revolution," says a foreigner stationed in Yugoslavia for a long time, "has to mellow. Titoism may very well be the mellowing of Stalinism."

The mellowing is perhaps best illustrated in small things. Six years ago no Yugoslav would speak to a foreigner except on official business. This year Yugoslav girls go out on dates with Americans or Britishers without looking over their shoulders to see if the secret police are watching. A Yugoslav no longer fears to visit a foreign friend at his hotel, or to listen to Voice of America rock 'n' roll music.

Borba, one of the two leading official papers, recently took a poll of some 7,000 workers as to their attitudes on workers councils. Three-quarters of those asked thought the councils were doing well; one-quarter thought they were not. Six years ago almost no one would have dared state an adverse opinion.

The mellowing is far from complete—it is in fact only beginning. The Press is not free in our sense of the word. No one can criticise fundamentals without losing his job. But literary criticism is relatively free. There are three leading cultural journals, each with a different slant. A few weeks ago leading writers discussed the question of "satire." Some endorsed the present timid attitudes; others criticised the fourth estate for failing to lampoon the political big-wigs.

On the newstand everyday are not only foreign papers but girlie magazines and sports magazines just like those in America, with busty females and lusty athletes competing for public attention with the heavy sheets.

## A small elite

There is also a certain advance in egalitarianisms. Yugoslavia no longer has those special stores where the bureaucracy and the army could buy quality merchandise that was not available to the public. Nor are there special schools for the children of the top leadership.

The big leaders still live far better than the rank and file of Yugoslav society. Tito has a number of lavish homes available to him, plus autos and other privileges. A small elite lives in fashionable Dedinje, on the rim of Belgrade.

But there is hardly a "red bourgeoisie" as exists in Russia or the satellites. Only three writers earn a living exclusively from books; the rest have to supplement their income by translation and other work. Gov-

ernment Ministers earn £70 a month and are permitted the use of better living quarters. One or two notches down, the salaries taper off precipitously, to between £13 and £40 a month. This includes plant officials, League of Communist leaders, union officials. And not too many of these get "extras" such as the use of a car or a dacha.

These standards are still much higher than those of the average worker who earns only £10 to £13 a month. But they are hardly lavish.

Aside from a few top bureaucrats, the people with the highest incomes are self-employed men such as doctors and artisans. These may earn as much as £300 a month. When the Government recently lowered the barriers for importing foreign automobiles, 500 cars were imported in the first two days. Eighty per cent of these were for the doctor and artisan class. Incidentally, some of the higher incomes are earned by men who own a team of horses and a wagon. In the absence of enough trucks, these primitive transport workers are doing very well.

## American aid

The mellowing process applies to foreign travel, too. Like everything else in Yugoslavia the old harshness is not yet dispelled: some people are still refused exit visas. Mrs. Dedijer, wife of Tito's biographer, was recently refused permission to join her husband while he was lecturing in Western Europe. The Ministry of Interior often withholds the privilege of travel for fear that a person will not return.

One girl was told she could not get an exit visa because "you might get married overseas." But thousands of Yugoslavs now go abroad in groups, on low-cost vacation travel, and many others get permission to go on their own. It is perhaps indicative of the thaw that there are reportedly less restrictions to gaining exit visas in Croatia than in Serbia.

None of this should be taken as proof positive that the Second Communist Revolution is complete—or final. Yugoslavia is still an enormously poor country. It claims that its industrial advance is 13 to 14 per cent a year—higher than that of any other country, including Russia. But it is still an agricultural country, with 60 per cent of its population on the land, dependent on the whims of nature for a good crop. A big harvest still means the difference between prosperity and recession in Yugoslavia, between whether the nation can

relax a bit or must call on the US for more aid.

American aid, it is admitted by Yugoslav economists, has been one of the major reasons for the mellowing. It makes up the difference for the unfavourable balance of trade.

Withdrawal of US aid or bad crops can push Yugoslavia back towards more compulsion. There is a dangerous inner-dynamic within its society, with segments of the bureaucracy pressing for more centralisation and privilege, while others insist on further relaxation.

The workers councils at the bottom want more rights; the leaders at the top often want more restrictions. The centralisation of the League of Communists—though very moderate by Soviet or satellite standards—nevertheless mars the decentralisation process, particularly since there is no free Press.

On the other hand there is a basic impulse in Yugoslavia towards "another way" from that of the Russians. It must be remembered that Tito operated under Stalin's thumb for only four years, from 1945 to 1949. He opposed Stalin during the Stalin-Hitler Pact era, when his Partisans attacked Nazi Germany against the wishes of the Moscow potentate. For this his Partisans received no aid from Russia until the end of the war.

## Russia's policy

After the war Tito also flouted the Stalin-Churchill deal of a joint government with the King and 50-50 Soviet and British influence in Yugoslavia. In 1948, finally, he and his Party broke—or were ousted—for the last time.

The recent rapprochement with Krushchov has hardly healed the breach, for Russia has gone back on many of its promises on economic aid, including the promise to build an aluminium plant.

The Russians have also been trying to isolate Yugoslavia ideologically from the satellites, for fear their liberal ideas will further decentralise the Communist empire. Individual Yugoslavs are probably more cool to Russia today than at any time in history.

Did Stalin dig the grave of his system by permitting Titoist Yugoslavia to "get away with it?" Did he give an impulse to a Second Revolution within his monolithic ranks?

Poland, Hungary, and now China seem to indicate that he may have. Only time will give the final verdict.



# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

**Tuesday, August 20**

**MANCHESTER:** 7.30 p.m.; 36 Coleridge Road, Old Trafford, Manchester. Central Group PPU.

**Thursday, August 22**

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road, E.11. PPU Group Meeting. Speaker: John Barnard.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. Group discussion PYAG.

**Wednesday, August 23**

**LONDON, W.C.1:** Pacifist Forum, Friends House, Euston Rd. Questions on international affairs answered by a panel of pacifists.

**Thursday, August 29**

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road, E.11. PPU Meeting. Group Discussion.

**Monday, September 9**

**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m.; 221 Vicarage Road, Kings Heath. Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU. All welcome.

## Every week!

### SATURDAYS

**LIVERPOOL:** 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

### SUNDAYS

**HYDE PARK:** 6.30 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

**GLASGOW:** 8 p.m.; at Queen's Park Gates. PPU Meeting. Open-air.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

**KIDDBROOKE:** 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

### THURSDAYS

**GLASGOW:** 8 p.m.; Corner of Blythswood Street and Sauchiehall Street. Open-air Meeting. Glasgow H-bomb Committee.

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

### FRIDAYS

**BIRMINGHAM:** 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

# COLOUR, COMEDY AND TRAGEDY

## Hazel Lake reviews

**Bitter Lemons** by Lawrence Durrell, Faber and Faber, 16s.

**READERS** of the Observer and the New Statesman will already have realised that Lawrence Durrell's recently published book on Cyprus is far more than a mere travel diary or a political survey. It is a book to delight in and to absorb for its own sake.

Durrell's genius lies in his ability to comprehend each of his neighbours from his or her own point of view and yet to retain a sense of the complete pattern without which the scene would remain a jumble of contradictions and irrelevancies.

Because of his knowledge of the pattern, Durrell could undermine the sullen suspicion of the village trouble-maker, and win over the local Turkish financier to whole-hearted friendship. He could also feel respect and deep sympathy for Harding as he struggled with a task that could never be completed. The book does not set out to portray tragedy. It is the whole gorgeous Mediterranean blend of comedy and colour with which the author is concerned, and at first there is a certain detachment. "Zito i Enosi!" may be scrawled

## The Communist who became a pacifist

### Professor JOHAN GALTUNG reviews

**Fred og frihed uden vaben** (Peace and Freedom Without Weapons); Henrick S. Jensen, Borgen, Copenhagen, 2 vols, 564 pages. With a short English summary.

**THIS** is in many respects a remarkable book. The author, a husky, red-haired Dane, is a blacksmith at the Hygienic Institute, University of Copenhagen. In this position he has found himself between workers and intellectuals, able to benefit from his intimate knowledge of the conditions of the former, and from the alleged wisdom possessed by the latter. During the war and the occupation he was a Communist, but however much he sympathised with the aims of that Party, he found its means both morally wrong and very fallible. He turned pacifist, and is now very active in his work to spread pacifist thought.

His book spreads over a vast field. His conclusions are very well put forward in an appendix—to my mind the best part of the book—where he discusses with an imaginary reader. Mass conscientious objection, combined with constructive work, some decentralisation, economic aid to those who need it most, and development of a strong non-violent "army" is his programme.



He knows very well contemporary and past pacifist thought and authors, but what is perhaps more interesting is the way in which he has included non-pacifist thinkers, partly the reactions of those who

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## THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A. J. MUSTE

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In recent months *Liberation* has also carried articles by Pitrin Sorokin, Milton Mayer, Clarence Jordan, Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King, Vinoba Bhave, Lewis Mumford, Claire Huchet Bishop and others.

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There is little detachment left, however, to console the Government official who returns to "his" village for the last time on the day of Karaolis' execution. For all his insight and sympathy he has achieved nothing and has become a danger to those friends who still have the courage to greet him. To those of us who also have hailed Dmitri under the Tree of Idleness those last chapters are almost unreadable.

To the extent that Durrell can awaken that same sense of personal tragedy amongst thousands who have never seen the Island he has not failed in his job.

## Vindication of meekness

**Popular Fallacies about the Christian Faith**

by Donald O. Soper, Wyvern Books, 2s. 6d.

IN this, the second volume that he has contributed to the new paper-back series, published by the Epworth Press, Donald Soper deals briskly with half-a-dozen or so of the popular opinions about the Christian Church and its Faith that are quite fallacious. The chapter headings, such as "Christ: God or Man," "Is Christianity Practicable?" "Clerics and Critics" and "Christ's Kingdom: Here or Hereafter?" indicate the scope of its attack.

Those who know the author, either personally or by reputation, will not be surprised to learn that, like King Charles's Head, pacifism keeps coming into it, as when he writes:

What we call the meekness of our Lord is more than an aspect of His character: it is its fundamental principle. There is nothing in it of the 'inert door-mat'; it was, and is, the practice of uncompromising and unyielding love, the exposition of a new technique in dealing with evil. I believe it to be the business of the Christian, especially today, first to realise, and then to proclaim, this revolutionary technique as the only way to peace and justice. It won't be easy, for meekness has little "face value" compared with armaments; but, if the Cross means anything at all it is the vindication of meekness as the most dynamic and explosive force that humanity has ever known."

A book that ought to have a wide circulation within the churches as well as outside them.

T.R.D.

This book spreads over a vast field. Its conclusions are very well put forward in an appendix—to my mind the best part of the book—where he discusses with an imaginary reader, Mass conscientious objection, combined with constructive work, some decentralisation, economic aid to those who need it most, and development of a strong non-violent "army" is his programme.

He knows very well contemporary and past pacifist thought and authors, but what is perhaps more interesting is the way in which he has included non-pacifist thinkers, partly the reactions of those who read his first manuscript.

The reader feels engaged in his many-sided approach. If the book has a fault, it must be that the author tries to cover too many fields—urban versus rural life, bottle-feeding, emancipation, education, propaganda, etc.—and a reader cannot possibly agree with him everywhere he takes us.

Apart from this, the book can be highly recommended. It is well written, in a popular but not propagandistic style, with many references to literature. An abridged version in Esperanto is forthcoming, and it well deserves to spread outside Denmark.

## Civil liberties in Japan

THE most extensive system in the world for protecting citizens' rights has developed in Japan where special agencies of the central and 49 State Governments are set up to protect them, with almost 6,000 unpaid citizens serving as official supervisors, reports the International League for The Rights of Man.

The Japanese Civil Liberties' Union reports that in addition to this official machinery, every local Bar Association throughout Japan has a committee for the protection of human rights. Every city in Japan is assigned to one or more of the "Civil Liberties Commissioners" for investigation of violations and for education of the public.

A "subversive activities prevention law," adopted by the Diet over the opposition of the Japanese Civil Liberties' Union, has turned out to be a dead-letter in practice. The few prosecuted were acquitted or freed on appeal.

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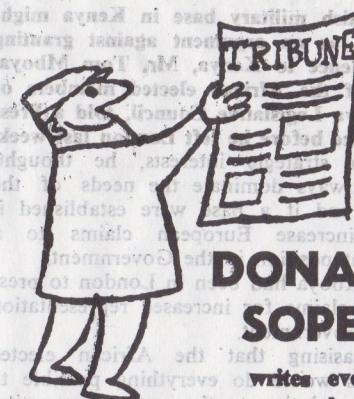
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## Arrested in Nevada Desert

● FROM  
PAGE ONE

to explain why we considered ourselves not guilty.

I told the court: "I do not consider myself guilty of trespassing. I consider the Federal Government guilty, and guilty in a terrible way, because its purpose for trespassing—bomb-testing—endangers the very survival of the world."

In summary, Heisler expressed the viewpoint that the unlimited exercise of power by the Atomic Energy Commission is unconstitutional. The justice of the peace imposed suspended sentences.

Upon release we returned to the vigil. As darkness fell the authorities again treated us like an invading military force.

Five carloads of guards surrounded our vigil spot and trained their spotlights upon us. Ropes were set up limiting the space in which we were permitted to circulate. Guards with flashlights patrolled the borders of the area every half hour.

A bomb explosion had been set for the following morning. As the night went by an endless convoy of trucks of all sizes rumbled into the testing area. A flashing blue light indicated that the explosions—so often postponed—would be detonated.

### HOUR OF EXPLOSION

As 5.25 a.m., the hour of the explosion, approached a strange quiet settled over the area. All of us on the vigil were gathered silently in a circle. Many were praying. Then suddenly a blinding flash and slowly the mushroom form appeared from behind the mountains—grey and pink. I had seen this often in pictures, but to see it in reality and in colour as dawn broke over the peaceful desert and mountains was a horrifying experience.

As the sun rose we prepared to leave the site and conclude the project. It was a tremendously successful action in that it drew international attention. It was supported by all the pacifist groups and received organisational help from a number of individuals associated with the American Friends Service Committee.

Next week: "Why I Went to Nevada," by Lawrence Scott.

### PRESS REPORTS

A report of the arrests by Gladwyn Hill occupied 22 inches in the "New York Times." The following are extracts:

Three cordons of guards a dozen AEC

this country of the "civil disobedience" tactics made famous by M. K. Gandhi, the late Indian independence leader.

The action was novel in the seven years of Nevada test activities, and was the first time any trespasser on the 640 square-mile reservation had been prosecuted. Numerous previous incursions had all been inadvertent. . . .

The guards refused to argue. They stuck to demanding proper credentials for admission and to reiterating that they were simply carrying out their orders.

To this, the pacifists rejoined that the Nuremberg trials in Germany after World War II had established the principle that following orders was not excusable if the orders were essentially "wrong."

This "confrontation," a spokesman for the demonstrators said, was intended to pose to the American public the soul-searching question of whether the use of nuclear weapons should be supported even tacitly.

### BRITISH TESTS

A new series of British atomic tests at Maralinga, Australia, is expected to take place within a few weeks. A triggering device for a new H-bomb is believed to be planned as one of the explosions.

## TORTURE IN ALGERIA

From Press Counsellor, French Embassy

To the Editor

MY attention has been drawn to the article published in your issue of July 26, under the title "Torture With Water and Electricity."

I notice that the allegations reported by your newspaper, based on statements made by Mr. Pierre Martin, are presented without any precise indication of name, place or date. This, of course, precludes any attempt at discussion. I will, therefore, confine myself to the following remarks:

(1) If it is true—which I do not know—that friends of your movement have been arrested, this can only be because they broke the law;

(2) The situation in Algeria is serious enough not to be handled lightly and without precision, be it in the name of the highest principles. In particular, the acts of terrorism which a small number of people are carrying out in the towns is a very

By Sybil Morrison

## PEACE BE TO YOU

*For the first time in the campaign British troops were the spearhead of the attack . . . Soon after midnight by the light of a full moon they moved onward. They carried mortars and Vickers machine guns . . . soon the crump of mortars was echoing across the valley . . . The southward thrusting prong of the Sultan's forces have so far been unable to link up . . . the rebels are waiting in slit trenches along the Saw-tooth Ridge.*

—Daily Telegraph, August 12, 1957.

*We must not abandon the nuclear protection which has preserved the peace for ten years and more . . .*

—The Prime Minister, "Mr. Macmillan and the H-bomb."

IF it were not obvious, by the date on my calendar, that I am living in the year 1957, it would be quite easy, reading the description of battles in Oman, to believe I was, in fact, back in 1917, when such newspaper paragraphs were commonplace.

"British troops were the spearhead of the attack," "the crump of mortars," "the southward thrusting prong," "waiting in slit trenches," these were the impersonal words that concealed the facts of human suffering and human death on the battlefields of Flanders 40 years ago.

"Troops" are, after all, made up of individual human beings, each one of whom has a separate personality, and a separate life apart from this one of fighting against an unknown people in an unknown cause.

"Spearhead of the attack" means that each of these individuals may die, or have arms and legs blown off, or sustain some horrible wound; each one may be responsible for killing or mutilating another human being; and this because he is ordered to do so. He probably knows little, if anything, of the rights and wrongs of the matter; his "not to reason why," his but to kill or die.

For all the boasting talk of the Prime Minister that peace has been kept for ten years, through the inestimable virtue of the H-bomb, the facts would appear to deny him.

It is said that the people of Nizwa, where the fortress has "great chunks bitten out of its walls and ramparts by the rockets of the RAF "Venoms," have come out to surround the armoured cars of the Hussars, greeting every soldier anxiously with their traditional "Salaam alekum," meaning "Peace be to you."

It is pertinent at least to wonder whether Mr. Macmillan's ten years of peace has the same meaning as this gentle greeting. It

War is not a tidy little game where those warned of bombs and rockets can quickly and easily get out of the way, as propaganda tries to mislead us into believing. Rockets and mortars and machine guns kill; that is what they are for, and putting down a rebellion by force of Venoms and Hussars is war, whatever label designed to conceal that fact, may be attached to it.

There is a war going on in the Persian Gulf, and whatever its outcome in terms of victory for either side, the dispute will still have to be settled by negotiation; a truce, or cessation of fighting by agreement on one condition or another, will still not be synonymous with peace.

Peace is a state of mind; it is harmony and concord with others; it is mutual trust and confidence; it means a tranquillity of spirit in which war and hatred have no place. It is a gentle word, a glowing, gleaming, shining word.

To speak peace is to speak reconciliation, understanding, friendship, negotiation, love. We have yet to learn the essence of the meaning of "Salaam alekum," for the thunder of Venoms and rockets or mortars and machine guns cannot say "Peace be to you"; only human tongues, speaking the universal and immortal language of good will can do so. It is time that Governments began to learn that alphabet.

## Arch Druid heads H-bomb petition

From E. FFESTIN WILLIAMS.

HUNDREDS of signatures against the H-bomb were gathered at the Welsh National Eisteddfod last week.

Heading the petition was the signature of the new Arch Druid, the Rev. William Morris, a well-known pacifist and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The chief Eisteddfod award—the Bardic Chair—was won by the Rev. G. B. Tiley.



As the sun rose we prepared to leave the site and conclude the project. It was a tremendously successful action in that it drew international attention. It was supported by all the pacifist groups and received organisational help from a number of individuals associated with the American Friends Service Committee.

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Three cordons of guards a dozen AEC security police, four deputy sheriffs and a score of State police, were lined across the open gateway. A crowd of 100 people, including atomic scientists, and other AEC personnel, watched the demonstration.

It marked the unusual employment in

## Base in Kenya —Mboya speaks

A British military base in Kenya might be used as an argument against granting independence to Kenya, Mr. Tom Mboya, leader of the African elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council, told a Press conference before he left London last week.

British strategic interests, he thought, would always dominate the needs of the people, and if a base were established it might increase European claims to a dominant position in the Government.

Mr. Mboya had been in London to press African claims for increased representation in the Government.

Emphasising that the African elected members would do everything possible to secure a solution to the country's constitutional problems, he pointed out that the European members had no common policy between them, and were likely to provide the stumbling block in any negotiations.

None of the African elected members supported the programme of the Capricorn Africa Society with its attitude of the vote being a responsibility and not a right.

"I believe that all people in a community must have the right to vote and the right to exercise it," said Mr. Mboya.

"All people must be treated as equals within the State and society, and there can be no question of people being graded according to their wealth, education or social standards."

your newspaper, based on statements made by Mr. Pierre Martin, are presented without any precise indication of name, place or date. This, of course, precludes any attempt at discussion. I will, therefore, confine myself to the following remarks:

(1) If it is true—which I do not know—that friends of your movement have been arrested, this can only be because they broke the law;

(2) The situation in Algeria is serious enough not to be handled lightly and without precision, be it in the name of the highest principles. In particular, the acts of terrorism which a small number of people are carrying out in the towns is a very serious matter. Bombs are constantly being set off in the most crowded public places, killing and wounding many innocent people, without distinction of age or sex, the majority of whom are Algerian Moslems. Well may this situation have led the French Government to request Parliament to allow the use of certain exceptional measures in the field of individual freedom. It is the most absolute duty of Governments to protect the populations for which they are responsible. The measures in question have no other object and have nothing to do with Nazism or Hitler. If Peace News means to protest, in the name of the principles for which it stands, it would certainly act honourably by raising its voice in condemnation of collective outrages. It is so simple to enjoy an easy conscience and to vent one's indignation when one sees only one side of a question!

(3) With regard to the use of torture, the French Government has never considered that the need to obtain information about terrorist plans, and thus save innocent lives, might be an excuse. An international commission composed of Dr. Georges Andre (Belgium); Mrs. Lise Borsum (Norway); Mr. Van Rij (Netherlands); Mme. Germaine Tillion (France); M. Louis Martin-Chauffier (France), has just carried out an investigation on the subject. This commission undertook its task at the request of the "International Committee against concentration camps," and has just published its conclusions. I enclose a summary of the report published in The Times on July 27. It shows that if cases of torture have been recorded they occurred without the consent of the French authorities and that a list of the punishments imposed upon guilty officials has been given to the commission.—R. THIBAUT, Press Counsellor, French Embassy.

See "War Methods in Algeria" page four

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It is pertinent at least to wonder whether Mr. Macmillan's ten years of peace has the same meaning as this gentle greeting. It would seem rather, that our Prime Minister, when he says "peace," means a condition of no world war; he does not mean, and cannot mean, no war at all.

It is not ten years yet since Korea, that bloody struggle in which, though no atom bomb was dropped, the hideous napalm was first used. If the Imam's followers, known as "the insurgents," should not yield so easily as was at first anticipated, there is no reason to suppose that any more mercy will be shown to innocent people in Oman than in Korea.

## Race riot in Chicago BY RALPH BLACKWOOD

ARMED with baseball bats and stones, 150 young white hoodlums, 15 years old and up, attacked 100 Negro picnickers in Calumet Park, Chicago, on Sunday, July 28. They injured about 35 people and damaged 25 automobiles. No provocation has been reported. Victims fought back with fists and whatever they could lay their hands on.

Later the young rioters roamed a two-mile square section of the city throwing soda-pop bottles at cars with Negro passengers. They pulled two Negro drivers from buses and beat them.

Reports are that a similar incident took place earlier, but was kept out of the Press.

Police officials were stormed by protests over their failure to use force against attackers. Monday police turned out in force and patrolled the area.

## WELL ADOPTION SCHEME

The address supplied to "Peace News" for the NLAC for War on Want (Bringing safe wells to India—"Peace News" last week) should have read 19 Nassington Street, N.W.3, not Nassingham Street.

to learn that alphabet.

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The chief Eisteddfod award—the Bardic Chair—was won by the Rev. G. R. Tilsley, a member of the Welsh Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

There was a strong demand for "Peace News" at the Eisteddfod. Eight dozen copies were sold out within a few hours of their arrival. The same quantity of the previous week's issue had also been sold.

*YOUTHFUL FOOTNOTE: Credit for the sale of nearly 200 copies of Peace News goes largely to the 15-year-old son of our correspondent.*

## TOKYO CONFERENCE ★ FROM PAGE ONE

asked that they should consider the banning of tests "only as a first step, an urgent step, but only a preliminary one, in the major problem of disarmament."

"I'm the last person to minimise the danger of radio-activity, but I feel we should not make this the main topic."

**"The major problem is the abolition of war altogether."**

Two observers for the War Resisters' International Miss Gladys Owen and Reginald Reynolds, have been elected to the steering committee of the conference, as also has the Rev. Paul Sekiya, of the Japanese Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Miss Gretchen Tuthill, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

A further report with extracts from the speeches by Dr. Homer Jack, Reginald Reynolds and Prof. Rotblat will appear in Peace News next week.

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